1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter. The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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out in the desert, running, he would drop and lie for an hour or two. Sometimes it happened two or three times between one full moon and another. 159x 756

When it began happening my father and mother called in a medicine man to find out what was the matter. The medicine man only looked at him and blew smoke over him. Then he said: "Let him alone. He is all right. He is learning." So my father and mother were glad. My grandfather had been a medicine man. He had said when he was dying that none of his children would dream as he had but that his grandchildren would. And they did. Yes, I, too. After that we would hear my brother singing at night when we were all lying on our mats. He never told us where he got his songs. But we knew that, when he was dead like that, he met some animal and the animal taught him. Sometimes when a medicine man was singing in our house, my little brother sang with him.

Many medicine men used to come to our house, for we were often sick. In the hungry time before the rains, it used to happen to us. Once, when I was little, we had the owl sickness. My father, my mother, my brothers, and sisters, and I all had it together. We felt sleepy and dizzy and as if our hearts were shaking. We knew it came from the owl, because it always does, but we sent for the medicine man to make sure. Do you do the same? [753]

He came in the evening and my father had tobacco ready for him. He sat and talked for a little while, gossiping about his family, and my father and mother talked with him while we children lay on our sleeping mats. Then he began to sing. It was dark except for the fire and I could just see the rattle going to and fro in his right hand, the way a dog switches its tail. To and fro for the first two songs, up and down for the second two. You cannot tell what a medicine man sings. He sings his dreams and he sings them in a voice that is not like a man's. It takes him many years to learn that strange voice. But at the fourth song sometimes he sings real words and you know what animal came to visit him and taught him. 159x 755

After the fourth song he smoked a cigarette made in a joint of reed long as my hand, as old cigarettes used to be. He put his hand on our bodies while he smoked to feel the sickness, and he listened and looked out in the dark. I was not frightened when he put his hand on me. My mother had said to me beforehand: "The medicine man will do what he knows and you must not be scared." So I went to sleep.

But my father and mother sang with him all night. He sang one song so often that they learned it. And my little brother sang, too. After every fourth song he smoked a whole cigarette.

Then he took out the crystals which he had to see by. Those are crystals which a man keeps inside his breast. They are little shining things, as long 159x 766 787 826

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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as a finger joint but they cast light like a fire. Some medicine men dream where to find them and they go out in the bare mountains and see them lying there, burning in the sun. Then they swallow them and keep them safe in their hearts. But some men never have to find them. Their crystals grow inside them as a worm can grow. Even if you suck it out, still it grows again. Those are the men who have great power.

Our medicine man had crystals which he had picked up, but he told my father that when he swallowed them, they leaped into his mouth out of his hand and went down his throat like water. He never took them out again because he could see even while they were in his body. While he was sitting there in the house he could see things going on outside and inside, too. Even if someone was coming far away, he could see. At dawn he said to my father: "It's this way. The owls are making you sick."

My father gave him a heifer because we always paid the medicine men well, and then we had to sing away the owls. When an animal is making you sick like that, you sing many songs about him to make him feel better. Any kind of songs. Songs that make you laugh and songs that tell where he lives and songs that say mean things about him. The animal does not care. He likes to be sung about.

People had to be sent for who had dreamed of owls, because that is how all songs come, by dreaming. Owl songs are pretty and even women can dream them. Many owl singers came to our house, and all the neighbors crowded in to listen:

Evening is growing red.
Straight above me the color spreads out
In all directions.
I fly out and hoot at it
Four times.

I learned that song. Later on I dreamed of owls, too. When they sang I felt very peaceful; I knew things would be all right. The singers brushed me off with owl feathers and I went to sleep. At midnight my mother gave them a big meal of succotash and at dawn they went away. In two days we were well.

I used to try to sing owl songs after that. It seemed to me that I was always just going to dream about an owl. But I am not sure if I did.

Every winter there was singing in our house. We had the deer sickness, which makes you swell, and Hit-with-the-Heel came to sing the deer songs. Or we had the turtle sickness which makes you sore, or someone stepped over a snake and we had the snake sickness which makes you vomit. I

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X 159 and if he would sing any songs like those I had heard from my father. Then, once, Coyote came to me, too.

I was at Mesquite Root, gathering giant cactus with my family. I always went there in the Cactus month because Mesquite Root was in the hills, near the cactus groves, and Where the Water Whirls Around was down in the hot plain. Once I had picked my basket full of cactus fruit and I was resting. I looked down by my bare toe and there lay a crystal.

I have told you how medicine men find these crystals by magic, after a dream. Those shining stones have power and they can make rain. No one finds them by chance. So when I saw that, I was afraid. It was a big crystal, thick as my finger and as long as two joints of it. I took it home, but I had no use for a crystal then; my heart was cool. I gave it to my brother who was now a medicine man, and he whirled it around and tried to make rain. But he could not: the stone was not for him.

So I took it home. But I could not keep it, I, a woman, who was not meeting any spirit. I was afraid of it, and I gave it to my young brother-in-law. He is an old medicine man now, at Where the Water Whirls Around, and he has it yet.

But that night Coyote came to me. He did not speak. He looked at me a minute and then he turned away. As he went, he sang:

[533]

A frog medicine man
With spotted back
Lies somewhere on the ground
Looking for rain.
Where, where is the rain?

X 159 Sick people came often to my husband and his brothers because they 756 were all medicine men, and their father, too. We women, if we had wanted to, could have learned many lovely magic songs and could have looked in their medicine bags and seen the crystals and the feathers and other powerful things. Of course we did not, for those things can make you sick. We knew where the gourds were kept in the thatch of the roof and the long eagle feathers with them, but we never even looked that way. We thought [24] we might begin to menstruate and take away their power.

X 159 But sometimes when babies were brought to my husband I could not ● 826 help looking on, because I had had babies myself, and they had died. There is one thing that happens to babies that is very dangerous. They have a soft spot on the top of their heads. It is there when they are born and then it closes up. But sometimes it does not close. One who is wise will put a finger in the baby's mouth, far back and will push up. That pushes up the

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whole head and closes that soft spot which really comes because the head has fallen in. 159 x 826

My husband knew this and I have heard him tell mothers about it. But the mothers could not do the pushing. It must be a person with power.

I do not think it was crystals, for I was too old to have them grow within me any longer. Yet once, when I was at cactus camp, I was sick. We did not have a medicine man; my husband and his brothers were far away. I lay there, and my head spun round, and I was hot and cold. Then, out of the desert, a furry, gray coyote came trotting to me. He blew on me as the medicine man blows and I felt cool. I began to sing: 159 x 787 [533]

Coyote, my comrade
Hither ran.
To the end of his tail
A cloud was tied.

I felt that cool beautiful cloud, and I saw how funny Coyote looked, waving it over me and running away. I got well.

Then one day, when my daughter was twelve years old, my husband took another wife.

IX

One day I went with my little girl to buy meat at a neighbor's house where they had just butchered. I came back and, under our arbor, there sat a girl. The relative that lived next door to us called over and said: "My elder sister, your husband's married." 159 x 595

Most men did not take two wives with us then, but the medicine men always did. In fact, they took four. But I had never thought my husband would do it. You see, we married so young, even before I had really become a maiden. It was as if we had been children in the same house. I had grown fond of him. We starved so much together. [756]

The other woman spoke to me. "I see you're his wife. You had better take care of him. It's not my fault." I knew that. I knew they brought her over to our house just the way my mother brought me. Perhaps she did not know he had a wife till I came back from buying meat. I said: "I know it isn't your fault. But I am going home."

I piled my clothes in a basket, and I put in a large butcher knife. I thought if he followed, I would kill him. Then I took my little girl and went away. It was late evening. I went to the house of a relative and asked to stay the night, and early before morning stands up, I got up to walk to Mesquite Root, across the valley. Before I started, my husband came. He

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, I-4 (no date) 1943
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some justification. To the Papago three hues seem less attractive than others: greasy color (*muhata'*KI), smoky color (*kupi'tcuh*VI), and muddy color (*pi'te'-ma'*KI). However, even this reaction may have little to do with the actual colors. If these three hues develop in the firing of pottery, they are indicative of unsuccessful results. It is probable that the distaste for greasy, smoky and muddy colors is based as much upon the partial failure of the women's efforts as upon the colors themselves. In appearance they are dull, and in some of their dark values they are similar enough to make identification difficult.

Several descriptive words suggesting colors are not included in the compiled list although they are used by some Papago who have a more extensive vocabulary than others. In ordinary conversation use of such descriptive words is recognised as figurative rather than literal. Obviously, there is no such color as sour color, although the first horse owned by Dolores was named *se'e'*KE*'tcuh*, the Sour One, by his father. To interpret the Indian phrase one must understand that the horse's color was like the color of *ipah*I fruit before it turns red, a hue similar to one of the several grays which the Papago call *siceta'*KI, green. This color suggested to Dolores' father the sourness of the unripe fruit, hence the name.

The parts of the body which are always covered are lighter than the exposed portions, a difference which is no less noticeable among Indians than among peoples with white skins. This lighter portion of the body is said to be *smah-ceva'*KE from the verb *smahs*, to be in sight or visible; to be seen.

Two other descriptive words are related to color designations although the words in themselves imply no specific colors. One is *setcetsewe'*KI. This word seems to have no synonym in English. Perhaps dappled contains a similar meaning. The word describes the appearance given to a surface by markings of color. A rattlesnake is *setcetcewe'*KI, because of the combination of its diamond markings and spotted coloring. A mountain turtle is likewise *setcetcewe'*KI There is obviously some connection between *setcetcewe'*KI and *setcetce'*KI which means full of holes or open spaces (a word applied, also, to a country without trees). *setcetcewe'*KI like *valihsah* (the Papago rendition of a Spanish word) might grammatically be used with any color except for the fact that there are very few instances when its use is appropriate. Black and red are used with *setcetcewe'*KI, but other combinations seem foolish to the Papago.

Another descriptive word is *sipanima'*KI. Cloth with an allover repetition of small design units is described as dotted, or spotted. The Papago word comes from *sipan*I, falling in drops like a liquid. *sipanima'*KI suggests the appearance of dusty ground after a very light shower. No color is implied, hence one must be added to make the description complete, as *swe'pe'kime si-panima'*KE, red spotted, or *stcu'kema sipanima'*KE, black spotted, etc.

Dolores' list of color designations contains about three dozen names counting the neutrals: blacks, whites, and the grays. The identification of specific

10:Dolores I-5 (1911-1919) 1923
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wu·lu·, donkey, *burro*
ba'a'k, eagle
ban, coyote
baba't, frog
*pihsin, bear
ta·ṭai, road runner
toah-kam, animal (alive, whole)
to·lo, bull, *toro*
to·va, turkey
tohtoni, ants
tohki'tuhṭ, spider
djuw, hare, jackrabbit
djuṭumi, bear
toemama'ki, horned toad
*toehe-kam, woodpecker
toehwo, gopher; pl. toe'toehwo
*toivihtcuhte, killdeer
*tcuavi, fox
*tcuhtculi, hen
tcuhkuhṭ, owl
tcuku'kcevah', cricket
gaw, badger
*gehwo, wild cat
gohtci, wild boar, peccary
go'ks, dog
kaso, fox
kaviyu, horse, *caballo*
kakaihtcu, topknot quail
kisuhpi, small bird
ko'oi, snake, rattlesnake
komehktceṭ, turtle
kohson, wood rat
*kohkovah, ground owl
kokohṭ, geese, crane
kuaṭa'k, ant
kulivitci-kam, a brown singing bird
*kuvi't, large yellow deer

BODY PARTS

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a'an, feathers, wings
aht, anus, bottom
eli-ta'k, skin, bark
e'ehṭ, blood
ibe'ta'kx, heart, spirit
o, back
o'o, bones
o'o'kx, tears
um, thigh
*mahtx'k, palm of hand
*mahtcevita'k, large feathers
mo'o, head, hair

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mo'oh-tɛk, scalp
mu·hs, vagina
*muh, wound
nahk, ear
noxha, egg
novi, hand
sih-se-vaṭa'k, saliva
sic, elbow
sihpuhṭ, rump, buttocks
soh-ca, nasal mucus
*soco'pah, wrist guard
hi'ɪ, urine
hiwehteu, groin
hiwe-'tak, hiwo-'k, sore
hon, body
ho'ki, hide, buckskin
huhuli-ka, menstruation
hu·tci, finger or toenails
viha, penis
vi·hpe'to, testicles
viki, down
wohpo, body hair, fur
wo·hk, belly, abdomen
wui, eye
wuhvoh-cah, face
bahi, bai, tail
baco, breast, chest
bi't, excrement
da·hk, nose
ta·htami, teeth
tahtai, sinew
tabṭ, foot
ton, knee
tcini, mouth
tcini-wo, beard
teu·li, hip
teu·hu'k, flesh, meat
kahvo, leg
*kai-ca'ki, crotch
ka·m, cheek
ke·tca, semen
koa, forehead
komi, back, shell
koc, nest
*kocova, skull
*kohki, footprint
kuhco, back of the neck